Dissertations, Theses, and Capstone Projects   CUNY Graduate Center

6-2022

A Case for Comprehensive Work-Based Learning and Career Education for New York City's Public High School Students

Jacqueline De La Cruz
The Graduate Center, City University of New York

A CASE FOR COMPREHENSIVE WORK-BASED LEARNING AND CAREER

EDUCATION FOR NEW YORK CITY'S PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

by

JACQUELINE DE LA CRUZ

A master's thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, The City University of New York

2022

A Case for Comprehensive Work-Based Learning and Career Education for New York City's
Public High School Students

by

Jacqueline De La Cruz

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in
satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

_____

Date

_____

David C. Bloomfield

Thesis Advisor

_____

Date

_____

Elizabeth Macaulay

Executive Officer

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

ABSTRACT

A Case for Comprehensive Work-Based Learning and Career Education for New York City's
Public High School Students

by

Jacqueline De La Cruz

Advisor: David C. Bloomfield

As children progress through grades K-12 they are often asked what they would like to be when they grow up, but there are few opportunities for exposure to real world work experiences while they are in school. While many radical scholars have critiqued the primacy of the economic goals of schooling, in this paper I embrace the connection between education and employability to advocate for career education and work-based learning programs to bolster students' postsecondary plans. Work-based learning does not substitute traditional forms of education and schooling, but when aligned with tenets of learning and career theories, it has the potential to provide students with a more holistic education and to foster lifelong-learning even after they have graduated from high school and transitioned into adult roles. After broadly discussing schooling's connection to workforce rationales and a theoretical basis for work-based learning, I present a call to action for New York City's Mayor Eric Adams' education policy agenda.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1

The Purpose of Schooling: Linking Education to Employment

I.   **Summary**

When considering the purpose of schooling in society, it is important to recognize how politics and economics converge and thereby call for interdisciplinary approaches to education policies. Examining political perspectives provides a foundation for understanding how problems are defined and what solutions are devised in the policymaking process. Career readiness programs in schools that are aligned with the economic and humanistic goals of education are justified by workforce, social justice, and student development rationales. While many radical scholars have critiqued the primacy of the economic goals of schooling, I embrace the connection between education and employability to advocate for career education and work-based learning to bolster students' postsecondary plans.

Due to the economic significance of workforce development, the country experienced a period in which the federal government endorsed career education programs and the "school-to-work" strategy as education reform. The School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994 demonstrated political support for policies that linked education and robust work-based learning with employment. While work-based learning is not a substitute for traditional forms of education and schooling, it can provide students with a more holistic education and foster lifelong-learning even after they have graduated from high school and transitioned into adult roles.

II.   **The Intersection of Public Education and Social Welfare**

While the purpose of public education has changed with the times, it has usually been connected to remedying problems outside of school walls. However, discussions of public

education have often been considered outside the scope of social welfare which generally encompasses policies on housing, health care, retirement, childcare, and labor. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines social welfare as "organized public or private social services for the assistance of disadvantaged groups." John E. Hansen from the Social Welfare History Project described it as the provision of "resources designed to enhance or promote the well-being of individuals, families and the larger society," not only vulnerable groups, and involves "efforts to eliminate or reduce the incidence of social problems" (2017). These social problems include but are not limited to unequal economic opportunities and concentrated poverty.

Since the inception of public education in the United States, schools have been viewed as "providers of opportunities for social mobility" and as "solutions to myriad social problems" (Sadovnik, et al., 2018, p. 1). In his brief overview of American public education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, urban historian, Michael B. Katz, noted that the purpose of public education has often been to "[improve] poor people" (1997, p. 104). To improve poor people did not mean to ameliorate their economic circumstances, but to adjust their supposed immoral behavior, which was frequently deemed to be the cause of social problems. In the age of the poorhouses, public schools served a corrective purpose. They were alternatives to crime and centers of cultural assimilation for immigrants (p. 104). During that period, public school education was less about "the cultivation and transmission of cognitive skills and intellectual abilities as ends in themselves," but more about "[shaping] behavior and attitudes" and "[alleviating] social and family problems" (p. 110). This suggests that the public education system has been utilized as a type of social welfare intervention for at least a couple of centuries.

It is imperative to acknowledge the relevance of social contexts to education reform. Jean Anyon, a radical researcher in education, noted the convergence between education and

economic policies and argued against the insulation of disciplines. For example, she called "equitable metro-area job location and public transportation policies… covert education policies" (2005, p. 75). Anyon reasoned that education reform was inadequate if it was not connected to finding solutions to the problems in the communities where schools were located, including poverty caused by factors such as unemployment and low wages (p. 184). Many of the policies Anyon advocated for were redistributive, further linking economic inequality with educational inequality, and amplifying the realm of education policy to include more interdisciplinary and holistic approaches.

It is important to note that Anyon and other critical scholars would disagree with the purely economic view that insists that more education is the way "to avoid welfare dependency" (Douglas, 2004, p. 30). Nuria Manzano Soto, a professor of education in Madrid, views the education system as not only a means to provide young people "with the necessary skills to 'succeed' in education and the labor market" (2004, p. 148), but also to "become critical learners and workers, engaged in active citizenship… to question inequitable social and labour market practices" (p. 145). While I agree and recognize that this social justice rationale is valid and necessary in scholarship and policies on education, I have narrowed my focus to the education-employability connection to support and recommend policies that will help students in their educational and professional pursuits after high school.

III.   Political Perspectives in Education

Like other disciplines, there are tensions between the viewpoints of different schools of thought on how education is and how it ought to be. One main driver that shapes these perspectives is politics. Examining political perspectives in education, albeit succinctly, is necessary to frame later discussions on the role of career education and work-based learning in

schools. Conservative, liberal, and radical views in education provide a foundation for understanding how problems are defined and which solutions are created in the policymaking process.

The conservative view is commonly associated with the ideals of individualism and meritocracy. To conservatives and traditionalists, the role of education is to "ensure that the most talented and hard-working individuals receive the tools necessary to maximize economic and social productivity" and to "socialize children into the adult roles necessary to the maintenance of the social order" (Sadovnik et al., 2018, p. 26). Common problems that conservatives cite with education include the diminishing of standards and values, and the lack of discipline in schools (p. 28). They argue for greater individual and school accountability, the preservation of the Western canon in curricula, and the expansion of school choice options (pp. 28-29).

Liberals waver between traditional and progressive visions of education (p. 26). Education is the great equalizer that ensures "that all students have an equal opportunity to succeed in society" and that "the needs of society and the individual" are balanced and "consistent with a democratic and meritocratic society." Liberalism differs from conservatism in that it encourages government intervention when educational inequality is perceived. Problems in education involve the lack of diversity in curricula, too much discipline in schools, and a growing achievement gap between poor and rich students (p. 28). Possible solutions to these problems include diverse curricula, the promotion of civic engagement among students, and the improvement (not closure) of failing schools (p. 29).

Radicals take a critical approach to education and schooling. Although their view is that schools should aim to eliminate inequality, they believe schools "reproduce economic, social and political inequality" (p. 27). For radicals, the problems with schools are structural, historical, and

systemic. Schools funnel students "from different social backgrounds for different roles within the economic division of labor." They "socialize individuals to accept the legitimacy of society" and the inevitability of inequality. Because the complete overhaul and transformation of the public education system is unlikely, radicals often agree with liberals' incremental strategies to reduce educational inequality (p. 24). Some of these strategies include advocating for critical pedagogy in the classroom that challenges all the "-isms" (i.e., racism, sexism, classism, etc.), and the democratization of schools through shared power within school communities (p. 30).

IV.   The Role of Education and Schooling in Society: To Make it Richer or Better?

Before delving into the role of education and schooling in society, it would be useful to differentiate between the terms as they are not entirely synonymous. Lawrence A. Cremin (1977), a historian of American education, defined education to "include all processes in a society that transmit knowledge, skills, and values and educational institutions as all the places in which these activities occur," even institutions outside of schools such as workplaces (p. 20). Schooling on the other hand is a "more narrow process, as it is concerned with the activities that occur in schools." As indicated in the previous section, the purpose of education and schooling will vary depending on political perspectives.

Dr. Alan R. Sadovnik et al. (2018) identified four main purposes of schooling (p. 21). These are intellectual, political, social, and economic. Knowledge is transmitted, cognitive skills are developed, and higher-order thinking is cultivated and enhanced in schools. Students learn how to be patriotic and how to pledge allegiance to the country. Social problems are both prevented and resolved as students are socialized into believing certain ideologies and adopting appropriate behaviors. Lastly, schooling assumes an economic purpose by preparing students for specific occupations within the division of labor. All of these are widely accepted purposes of schooling.

The more humanistic goals of schooling such as personal fulfillment and democratic citizenship overlap with the intellectual, political, and social purposes of schooling, but progressive liberals and radicals believe that in the current state of schooling, these are lofty goals that are only reserved for the socioeconomically privileged (Horsford et al., 2019, pp. 30-31). As Fiona Douglas (2004) writes, going to school and choosing what field to study, particularly in higher education, is "less likely to be about intrinsic self-determination and personal fulfilment, but more about being driven by the need for economic security" (p. 34).

In my own discussion on the purpose of schooling and education in society, I often ascribe more influence to society in dictating their roles, but others have depicted their relationship as more reciprocal. Dawn Bennett, a professor of higher education in Australia, writes that a social charter between society and higher education specifically, exists as a mutually beneficial relationship in which higher education provides society with educated citizens, research, leaders for public service, economic development, and public policy critique (2019, p. 41). Society, on the other hand, provides the raw materials, resources, political support, and influence on institutions of higher education. However, critical scholars have contended that the overemphasis on the economic goals of schooling such as individual self-interest is eroding the social charter. As cited in Bennett,

> Kezar, Chambers, and Burkhardt (2005) argue that this charter is being altered, lost or rejected because of the focus on revenue generation, prompted in turn by … a focus on … individual benefits such as social mobility and employment outcomes rather than generational social good derived as a result of higher education … a metrics-driven focus on the provision of workers rather than thinkers, exacerbate the decline of the social charter (p. 41).

Others have argued that the creativity, diversity, and civic engagement afforded by education are actually "all the things that modern employees might need for their futures" (Cole and Hallett, 2019, p. 122). In this way, modern education can effectively meet the demands of both the economic and humanistic goals of schooling.

Critical thinkers find it problematic that social worth is increasingly being connected to one's participation and productivity in the labor market. Individualistic ideals of competition "in the race for success in an open market for jobs" implies "meritocratic theme[s] and normative modes of behaviour based on morality, employability and employment" (Irving, 2004, p. 12). W.E.B. Du Bois articulated this issue with education just over a century ago. He called for greater federal investment in education not to increase output or even to compete economically with other nations, but to affirm his humanistic belief "that the object of all education is the child itself and not what it does or makes" (1920, para. 39). Du Bois contended that the goal of education should not be "the work but the worker" and "the development of human intelligence" (para. 35). Instead of perceiving education as an individualistic act, he saw education as a relational act that promoted the overall well-being of society which may have economic benefits for the individual.

Sonya Douglass Horsford et al. (2019) consider human capital theory as a major contributor to the primacy of economic arguments for education. They disagree with the assumption that today's information-age will inevitably increase demand for a highly skilled and educated workforce because automation and outsourcing, two factors commonly associated with rising inequality, will quickly fill those slots (p. 29). When the economy does not do well because of unexpected shocks or routine business cycles schools, educators, and ultimately students are often at the top of the blame list. In some cases, "scapegoating schools" can lead to the

discreditation and defunding of public schools, and reinforce the marketization of education, a trend that is rooted in neoliberalism, a political and economic ideology born in the 1980s (pp. 29-30, 35). Neoliberalism favors market-based approaches to education such as the privatization of public schools, expansion of school choice, and deregulation (Sadvonik, 2018, pp. 31-32). Although factors outside of schools play a role in changes to the economy and the labor market, responsibility has shifted to the individual devoid of any social context which has led to victim blaming and shaming.

When considering the role of education and schooling in society, it is worth pushing back against the principle of individualism. While society is composed of individuals, it also consists of relationships between people interacting in specific contexts. Thomas Rogers, former president of the New York State Council of Superintendents, explained, everyone involved in education and schooling should be "held responsible for things [they] can influence" through "reciprocal accountability" (as cited in Horsford et al., 2019, p. 41). Entities involved in education and schooling can include the federal and state governments, school districts, schools, administrators, community-based organizations, and others. All these actors are responsible for educating students and promoting the overall humanistic and economic well-being of society. In this way, individual students are not blamed, but are given the educational tools needed to build their capacity for work in a social world.

One way to balance the humanistic and economic goals of education without putting the onus on students or schools alone can be through work-based learning (WBL). I do not advocate for the complete overhaul of traditional methods of education, but a vision where they could coexist with WBL and create opportunities for collaboration to provide students with a more holistic education. WBL has the "potential to cultivate students' ability to define and solve problems,

work productively with others, and develop a sense of self-confidence" while preparing them for postsecondary options which has economic implications (Bailey et al., 2003, p. 60). Although I appeal to more instrumentalist rationales (i.e., this policy is good for everyone) in my policy chapter, there is space for justice-oriented rationales (i.e., this policy is good for groups that have been marginalized and oppressed) to push for the expansion of WBL in New York City's public high schools. Radical thinkers could potentially argue that justice-oriented rationales promote policies that are good for everyone since inequality, a social ill, is presumably bad for society overall. Additionally, scholarship on WBL is not without a critical stance. Thomas R. Bailey et al. (2003) present a reflective model of pedagogy for WBL. This approach ensures that the purpose of WBL is

> not simply to prepare the student for work, but to create the conditions and resources through which she can understand and reflect on the existing system, imagine alternatives, and become an active participant in the construction of her workplace and, indeed, her society (p. 191).

V.   Economic and Political Implications of Career Education

As discussed in the previous sections, matters relating to education and schooling hardly stay within these domains, but rather spill into other areas of expertise such as the economic and political. Career education is no different. The definition of career education varies, but it usually includes the knowledge and skills that young people learn and gain as they transition from the role of students in secondary school to the role of adults engaging in postsecondary educational opportunities and employment.

The origins of career education in the late 1960s reveal an economic agenda directly tied to employment during times of changing industries. Edwin L. Herr and Stanley H. Cramer (1996)

describe it as a "phenomenon" that "took root in many parts of the world almost simultaneously," including the United States, as countries were undergoing "particular levels of industrialization" and "occupational specialization and diversity" which necessitated a "shift [in] their educational content" (as cited in Pagliano, 2004, p. 115). As workforce development was deeply connected to the nation's economic interests, the 1970s saw a period in which the federal government supported career education initiatives like the Career Education Incentive Act in 1977 (Career Education, n.d.). In the 1980s, career education was rolled back as the conservative "back-to-basics" education movement, characterized by the raising of academic standards, took precedence in schools. In the 1990s, there was a renewed interest in career education as a component of the "school-to-work" strategy that was, as its name hints, justified by economic and workforce rationales.

Motivated by social justice rationales, radical scholars have pushed for a critical approach to career education, but they have also warned that social justice can be undermined by the government's increased involvement. Career guidance is an aspect of career education that focuses on individualized support for students to help them identify their interests and goals to match them to postsecondary options. Some radical scholars are wary of career educators and guidance counselors as they see them as "constrained in their role as state agents" (Irving, 2004, p. 10). If we review the political perspectives of education, we recall that radicals view the state as a perpetrator of social injustice. As a result, the federal government's expanded role in K-12 career education is not necessarily viewed as a positive development, but one with political implications that must be approached with caution.

Douglas (2004) claims that the increased roles of the federal and state governments in career education change the nature of the relationship between guidance counselor and student into "an

economically driven interaction between an agent of the state and a citizen who is expected to take responsibility" as opposed to "a one-to-one interaction" centered on the students' needs (p. 30). Consequently, career guidance has been reduced to financial planning and is in direct conflict with the humanistic goals of education that are upheld by social justice and student development rationales (p. 34). However, I believe government intervention at the local level is a fitting response that can be leveraged to champion student-centered career education that balances humanistic (social justice and student development) and economic (workforce) goals of career education.

Aside from greater interventions by state actors, the content of career education itself also "operates in a highly political arena" (Irving, 2004, p. 15). Irving writes:

Firstly, there is a distinct lack of clarity in this curriculum area (Harris 1999) as it wavers between preparation for work and preparation for adult life. Secondly, it continues to focus on individual aspiration and self-awareness within an educational framework (NIACE 1997; Gundara 2000; Lievano 2000) that tends to neglect social and cultural dimensions. Finally the educational aspect is overshadowed by competency-based behaviourist approaches that, for example, give primacy to preparation for, rather than a critical exploration of, the labour market (Mignot in Gothard et al. 2001) (p. 16).

Questions of curricula are political which is a reason why the federal government defers these matters to states and localities. Social and cultural perspectives send political messages that can for example, promote an ideology of individualism which can lead to victim blaming of marginalized groups. Approaches to career education that solely focus on competencies risk listing skills, knowledge, and attitudes as the "total sum of education" which can "[lack] a

critical edge" (p. 17). Both the purposes and methods of career education are political and must be reexamined to determine whether they are serving students well or not.

VI.   School-to-Work Strategy

As the name suggests, the "school-to-work" strategy of the 1980s emphasized the immediate transition of students into the workforce. Originally, it targeted non-college bound students, also commonly referred to as "the forgotten half." In the next decade, the school-to-work approach abandoned the notion that it was only fit for non-college bound students and adopted the idea that it was appropriate for all students, including those who were headed to college (Bailey et al., 2003, p. 12). A school-to-work strategy with a strong WBL component was beneficial "for exploring career possibilities and gaining the underlying foundation of knowledge and skills needed by everyone to prepare for adulthood," which unequivocally includes work and/or some form of postsecondary education and training (p. 4). The mention of its target population being "everyone" and "all" students frustrated those who believed WBL was at odds with academic learning (p. 85). The federal legislation that essentially codified the school-to-work strategy was the School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994, also known as STWOA by its initials. Its goals were summarized as follows:

(1) integrate work-based and school-based learning and academic and occupational learning, and establish effective linkages between secondary and postsecondary education;

(2) provide students with the opportunity to complete career majors;

(3) incorporate specified program components including work-based and school-based learning and connecting activities;

(4) provide participating students with experience in and understanding of the industry they are preparing to enter; and

(5) provide all students equal access to program components and to recruitment, enrollment,

placement, and related activities (Congressional Research Service, 1994).

These goals highlighted the workforce (items 1-4) and even social justice rationales (item 5)

behind the school-to-work approach. Greater federal involvement in the form of legislation was

also motivated by economic rationales as "anxiety over the economic position of the United

States with respect to other industrialized countries" like Japan and Germany was high (Bailey et

al. 2003, p. 14).

STWOA formed an unusual partnership between the Department of Education and the

Department of Labor and "represent[ed] a melding of the federal educational and job training

paradigms" (Javian, 2004, p. 341). Aaron Javian juxtaposed federal involvement in job training

programs and educational programs to illustrate the uniqueness of the partnership. Because of the

Commerce Clause, the federal government has had a greater involvement in regulating job

training programs. The federal government's engagement in and funding for education matters,

on the other hand, has historically been limited. In fact, the U.S. Constitution "does not explicitly

elucidate government's responsibility over education" in terms of mandating public education or

imposing a national school curriculum, but Congress has "the power to lay and collect taxes to

provide for the general welfare" including "the congressional power to provide states with

conditional funding for education," which reiterates the connection between education and social

welfare (pp. 336-337). Javian even called STWOA an "indirect form of anti-poverty legislation"

(p. 355). STWOA had remarkable potential to facilitate extensive partnerships between

stakeholders in both education and labor to reach more students and contribute to social welfare,

all while having federal backing and monetary support. Unfortunately, STWOA saw limited

success in its implementation, and its funding expired in 2001.

Although STWOA was not widely successful outside of specific localities like Boston, it signaled political support for reforms that made explicit linkages between education and employment. If we extrapolate that an important purpose of education, and career education with a comprehensive WBL component, is to make students more employable, then it would be conducive to define some terms, as this is also political in nature. Mel Fugate et al. (2004) described employability as a "psycho-social construct" that has different meanings to different people in different contexts (as cited in Donald et al., 2018, p. 516). Doug Cole and Raphael Hallett (2019) are keen to point out the "different time scales…at work" in the terms "employment" and "employability" (p. 120). The heart of the differences is that

"employment" is very much about the now or a fixed point in the future; it concerns a defined "condition" of work and is therefore a relatively short term or circumscribed concept. Employability should, in contrast, be concerned with a long term, evolutionary condition, enabling an individual to progress in multiple, diverse and sometimes conflicting spaces of work and development.

Scholars have been reluctant to confine the definition of employability to specific sets of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors, and instead have focused on students' grasp of their "personal value" and their "deployment in a specific context" (McIlveen, 2018, p. 2, as cited in Bennett, 2019, p. 44). Bennett defines employability simply as the "ability to find, create and sustain meaningful work across the career lifespan" (p. 45). In what Bennett calls a "new employability paradigm," the potential for employability does not stop when career ready students graduate from school into the world of work. She argues for a definition of employability that recognizes "the need for a metacognitive orientation which is mindful of self, profession and society … where employability, [the] public good and the purpose of higher

education collide." WBL can be a medium in which students become more self-aware of their values, professional abilities, and contribute to the overall well-being of society.

VII.   Conclusion

Work-based learning has the potential to transform how we think about education and schooling. It is another way in which students can continue to learn and develop outside of and in partnership with schools. A traditional view of education limits knowledge as an object to be acquired by individuals in a classroom, while an innovative perspective envisions students as agents in the creation of shared knowledge across different settings. WBL is not a substitute for traditional forms of education and schooling, but a much-needed complement to promote lifelong-learning for students even after they have graduated from high school and transitioned into adult roles. If this strategy is intentional and well crafted, our young people will be capable of applying their learning experiences to their educational and professional endeavors. Education policies must be student-centered if we want to set students up for success. If the argument is that WBL initiatives in schools is good for society on both humanistic and economic terms, then reform should be attempted at the local level to determine whom the policies benefit in practice. If WBL is found to be effective by credible evaluation standards after case studies have been conducted, results analyzed, and policies modified, then it should be replicated at a larger scale.

Chapter 2

Learning Theory Meets Career Theory: A Platform for Work-Based Learning

I.   Summary

To ensure effectiveness and quality, educators guiding student learning in career readiness programs should be informed by frameworks that incorporate learning and career theories. Although learning theorists Jean Piaget, John Dewey and Lev Vygotsky did not use the term "work-based learning" in their works, they agreed that learning was a process that involved people "interacting with and through shared forms of knowledge in constructing certain shared activities," which work-based learning could facilitate if designed well (Bailey et al., 2003, p. 30). Career theories by Linda Gottfredson, Donald Super, John Holland, Mark Savickas, and others align the use of career counseling, career education, and student interventions with approximate stages of child development. When work-based learning, one form of career education, is intentionally structured around the tenets of learning and career theories, it can be an effective form of education.

II.   A Brief Overview of How Children Learn

The popularization of work-based learning during the school-to-work movement of the late 1980s and early 1990s was complemented by strides in research on pedagogy and the idea of 'learning in context.' Developmental psychology and pedagogical concepts sought to answer questions about how children learned in different contexts and developed in communities (Bailey et al. 2003, p. 12). Was there a finite and an innate amount of knowledge located in the individual? Could knowledge be cultivated by hands-on experiences and socialization? Was learning passive or active? Or were children's minds blank slates, or 'empty buckets' waiting to be filled?

Psychologist Jean Piaget understood Constructivism as the idea that **"**the learner, rather than simply receiving, storing, and retrieving knowledge provided by external sources" like teachers, "works on ideas and experiences and constructs knowledge" himself (p. 24). A child and student's intellect are formed by interactions with objects perhaps even before they can extract meaning from what they are learning. Learning is an active process not only directed by rigid educational structures, but by children and students' self-determination and will. Therefore, knowledge of the world is created, not given by more learned others.

John Dewey, a philosopher and psychologist, is highly recognized for his association with Pragmatism which posited that "education happens through direct contact with the world," "manipulating real things," and "learning their social uses" (p. 24). Many "translate his message as simply 'learning by doing," but for Dewey there was no guarantee that children would learn unless there was a "carefully designed intervention" by "the educator to exploit and extend the learning potential in natural experience[s]" and actions (p. 107). While Dewey valued the individuality of children, he did not believe they would develop in isolation if left to their own devices. He deemed children's learning more effective if it was directed by capable pedagogues.

Lev Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory of Cognitive Development viewed children's learning as "embedded in – not simply related to or affected by – sociocultural activities and contexts" (p. 24). He believed that if children had the "tools for thinking provided by culture" (i.e., education) and "interactions with more skilled partners" (i.e., educators) in the zone of proximal development, than the possibilities for learning and development were limitless (Rogoff, 2003, p. 50). Children could then transform those educational tools for their own use and application but would need guidance to make meaning from their cultural contexts.

Many of these scholars have emphasized the need for a social element to learn in context. Barbara Rogoff, a professor of psychology, argues for a sociocultural approach to human development that shifts away from examining individuals' general (i.e., academic) abilities to examining "particular cultural activities in which people think" including opportunities outside of school (p. 241). In the West's sociocultural context, human development and learning is primarily associated with the institution of school. This is a setting in which children and students develop and grow, but it is not the only one and certainly not always the best one. Rogoff analyzed forms of expertise in communities outside of Europe and the United States to highlight different forms of intelligence, including social responsibility and one's role in relation to other people in the community. Her examples of children practicing "everyday cognition" around the world challenges today's meanings of learning and education (p. 239).

Career theories have moved away from individualism to views that affirm the significance of community involvement in child development. Barrie A. Irving (2004) writes about the increasing recognition

> being given to the interrelationship between the individual and society (Patton and McMahon 1999) in the shaping of career and decisions...The notion of individual choice, which is ideologically bound in liberal and psychological explanations, is slowly giving way to an acceptance that cultural and structural influences are also at play (p. 15).

In other words, the formulation of students' "life-plans" associated with their careers "occurs through [their] interactions with others as [they] move in a social world," learn new skills, and "engage in activities to which [they themselves] ascribe meaning" (p. 15). Career education is not a solo act. The development of students' life-plans is only possible in collaboration with others. The notion of social responsibility calls for a kind of collective impact framework that

encourages the involvement of entire communities to foster students' career development. Consequently, the onus would not only be on students and guidance counselors, but "parents, administrators, and community partners all play a role in developing students' career awareness and potential" (Curry & Milsom, 2013, p. 24).

III.   A Summary of Key Career Theories

Professors Jennifer R. Curry and Amy Milsom's toolkit for career education practitioners, *Career Counseling in P-12 Schools* (2013), is grounded in career theory. Its grade level interventions are carefully designed and based on educational standards and curricula to help the learning community (i.e., guidance counselors, teachers, parents, administrators, community partners, etc.) meet students where they are developmentally. They are focused on strengthening students' academic and work habits, planning and preparation for careers and college, and transitions into postsecondary pathways. They characterize the following career theories as fundamental for career education.

Linda Gottfredson's Theory of Circumscription and Compromise details the process of how young people decide which careers are attainable for them based on the occupational stereotypes they have perceived in the world around them (Winters, 2009). Circumscription is when a person (i.e., a student) omits career options because of their own ideas of self-concept. After students have engaged in self-reflection and taken an "introspective look at their futures" (Curry & Milsom, 2013, p. 209), compromise occurs when they "sacrifice roles they see as more compatible with their self concept" (Winters, 2009) for roles they deem to be more realistic. If at this time, students are not provided with accurate information and proper guidance, they may make uninformed decisions about their futures. Schools could support students during this

critical stage by holding information sessions, partnering with parents, and involving teachers in the development and implementation of career education curricula.

Donald Super's Life-Span/Life-Space Theory maintains that career selection is a continuous developmental process (known as crystallization), and not a "one-time decision" made in one's youth (Curry & Milsom, 2013, pp. 19, 221). Children between the ages of 0 and 15 develop their "life role beliefs by observing others" and having experiences (p. 227). Based on this theory interventions that work best with this age group will be activities that help students determine their needs, interests, and values "to articulate their self-concepts" and increase their self-efficacy which are crucial for Gottfredson's processes of circumscription and compromise (p. 211).

Robert W. Lent, Steven D. Brown, and Gail Hackett's Social Cognitive Career Theory states that students' self-efficacy has profound impacts on their college and career plans since their goals are dictated by "what they think they can or cannot do" (p. 228). Interventions must incorporate adult role models and mentors to assist students with reviewing and reevaluating their career plans, and to offer students feedback and opportunities to take on mastery experiences such as exam preparation and extracurriculars to shape their interests and goals. As students build upon their mastery experiences, they "would naturally feel more confident in their future capabilities, and therefore they would put forth continual effort (i.e., persist) toward a goal" (p. 245).

John Holland's Theory of Vocational Choice led to the creation of a classification system that matched personality types with specific work environments. The personality types (called the Holland Codes) were designed to be used in conjunction with career exploration activities to better position students to avoid the compromise Gottfredson discussed. The basis of Holland's theory is that "the choice of a career is an extension of one's personality into the world of work"

(Career Development Theories, n.d.). His work expanded upon Frank Parsons' ideas of occupational and self-awareness that paved the way for Trait and Factor Theory which focused on matching people's individual traits to particular occupations but did "not account for changes in values…and personality over the course of a lifetime" as Super's theory does.

The focus of Mark Savickas' Theory of Career Construction was how individuals experienced their contexts and how they constructed meanings from their experiences. The components of his theory include vocational personality, career adaptability, life themes and counseling for career construction. Vocational personality utilizes Holland's Codes to describe "dynamic processes that present [career] possibilities" as opposed to definitive futures for young people since these processes are dependent "on the social constructions of time, place, and culture that support them" (Career Construction Theory, n.d.). Career adaptability is a person's ability to adjust to occupational changes like career tasks and transitions. Life themes are self-defined "career stories fully contextualize[d]… in time, place, and role" that give people's work "a context for human development and an important location in each individual's life…that matters." In counseling for career construction, counselors will interview, listen, and understand "how the individual has used work to turn a personal [trait] into a public strength and then even into a social contribution." Informed by this theory, counselors "want students to be concerned about their future and feel a sense of control over it" and may focus on targeted career counseling, assessments to narrow options, college tours, resume writing, and financial literacy (Curry & Milsom, 2013, p. 264). In summary, the role of career educators is not only to deliver content to students but to help them ascribe meaning to what they learn in school and how they could apply it to their career decisions, and ultimately, their lives.

IV.   Work-Based Learning is Learning

Much of the learning that has taken place in classrooms has followed the "bucket filling" or "spoon feeding" methods. Students are perceived as empty vessels that must be filled and fed with knowledge by the expert in the room, usually the teacher. Work-based learning (WBL) challenges these methods by encouraging the active participation of students in their learning experiences with the pedagogical guidance of educators. In the context of organizational learning and management, Joseph A. Raelin argues against the mistaken notion that WBL is "just the acquisition of technical skills," but that instead it "constitutes the reframing necessary to create new knowledge" by asking students to reflect on how what they learned "square[s] with what [they] already know" (2008, pp. 2-3). In addition to the facts and theories students learn from textbooks, knowledge encompasses procedural skills, social skills, higher order thinking, world views, and values (Bailey et al., 2003, p. 30). Learning is characterized as "the process of the construction, reorganization, or transformation of knowledge and its use" over time (p. 28). This definition suggests that 1) learning happens on a continuum and does not stop when students graduate from high school as college and career ready, and 2) students actively participate in the creation, application, and development of knowledge across different contexts in their lives.

In *Working Knowledge: Work-Based Learning and Education Reform*, Thomas R. Bailey, Katherine Hughes, and David T. Moore discuss the scope and applicability of WBL programs in schools. They apply learning theories from prominent developmental psychologists, sociologists, and educators to explain how students learn in nontraditional educational contexts like the workplace. They offer educators pedagogical strategies to help students recognize "contextual differences" that can be useful to "their fundamental conception of thinking and learning" (2003, pp. 146-147). They suggest that the dual role of "student-worker" promotes "new modes of

thought" that "engage students in the meaning-making practice" to help them process learning in different ways that are constructive both inside and outside of the classroom (p. 159). Through interviews and observations of high school students participating in WBL, Bailey et al. analyzed the claims that WBL reinforces academic learning, skills and career learning, and youth development.

As school-to-work programs expanded in the 1990s and opposition against WBL mounted, its supporters contended that these programs reinforced academic learning in the classroom. But the authors found

> Work-based activities occasionally can reinforce academic competencies, but this may never
> be their most important asset... However, carefully designed internships do often provide
> opportunities to perform challenging tasks, receive feedback from employer and school staff,
> and learn about the world of work. These kinds of experiences have the potential to cultivate
> students' ability to define and solve problems, work productively with others, and develop a
> sense of self-confidence and direction. Whether or not these developmental benefits lead to
> higher levels of academic achievement, they can contribute to students' success in the labor
> market and in life (p. 60).

This observation may disappoint some who may view WBL as a panacea for all the problems with education and schooling, but it elicits very important questions. Why WBL? What is WBL good for if not academic learning? These questions prompt education reformers to reconsider what the goals of WBL should be and how they can best serve students and greater society overall.

Proponents of WBL agree that WBL enhances students' employability skills and knowledge of careers. As critics of the political nature of career education have articulated, skills and career

competencies are difficult to define. Some are so generalizable that they could probably be taught in the classroom, and others are so specific they may not be useful outside of particular work contexts. Additionally, just as academic learning (as it is currently understood) is not guaranteed if a student is sitting in a classroom, career learning is not guaranteed if a student is spending time at a work site such as a hospital:

> To learn extensively about the career, you need to participate in activities where knowledge about it is in use… Career knowledge also includes such things as: entry requirements and processes; organizational settings for the work; working conditions; rewards (including compensation) and dissatisfactions; career paths and possibilities for advancement and success; degrees of autonomy and control; government or union regulations (p. 125).

As learning in the classroom, learning in work settings must be intentional. It is not sufficient for students to be present if they are not being fully engaged and getting the most out of the experience.

In their interviews with students that participated in WBL, Bailey et al. identified a common utterance that indicated signs of positive youth development and feelings of belonging among a social group: "they treated me like an adult" (p. 120). Bailey et al. reference Vygotsky's concept of the zone of proximal development to support the claim "that learning that results in [student and child] development occurs only through problem-solving in interactions with more-capable others," which in this case refers to adults (p. 132). In contrast to work sites where students contribute "toward decisions of importance" and are more socially integrated with adults, "schools tend to be rigid and bureaucratic" and offer "minimal contact with adults or any more highly skilled others" which "may thwart psychological development for youth" (p. 133). This heightened sense of autonomy and responsibility may arguably be one of the greatest benefits of

WBL for students that could serve as preparation for the social and work world outside of school contexts.

As its name indicates, WBL is a form of learning. It has the potential to teach "students more about social relations, organizational dynamics, and workplace cultures than any classroom could," but it must be drawn out into their "consciousness" through effective pedagogy as learning and career theorists have suggested (p. 156). Bailey et al. clarify that pedagogy does not only occur in classrooms, but "in any social context where knowledge is distributed and used" (p. 163). When students participate in WBL outside of schools, they apply different types of knowledge "to structure their relationships, their use of resources (social, informational, and material), and their activities, in a concerted effort to achieve certain shared purposes" at their assigned worksites (p. 163).

V.   Conclusion

The notion that there are many ways for students to learn and to do things in community has been undermined in this age when classroom learning has been constrained by the pressure to perform well on standardized tests. Work-based learning programs that are informed by learning and career theories highlight the ability of students to learn in various contexts and social settings, apply different forms of knowledge, and construct meanings out of their experiences.

Chapter 3

A Call to Action for Mayor Adams' Education Policy Agenda

I.   Summary

As children progress through grades K-12 they are often asked what they would like to be when they grow up, but there are few opportunities for exposure to real world work experiences while they are in school. Each junior or senior in New York City's public high schools should have access to work-based learning opportunities to guide and inform their postsecondary plans and to help them gain meaningful employment.

To accomplish this goal, (1) college and career readiness must be redefined to dispose of the dichotomy that there are separate academic and non-academic pathways for students.

Along similar lines, (2) New York State's learning standards for Career Development and Occupational Studies (CDOS) should be acknowledged and work-based learning (WBL) programs destigmatized through a public media campaign.

Once the definition of college and career readiness has been revised and the public's perception of career education has been renewed, (3) compulsory WBL programs should be adopted to ensure all New York City's high school students graduate with some real-world work experience.

This chapter is structured as a policy brief that incorporates the three streams of the process of policy change described by John W. Kingdon. These are problem definition, policy recommendations and political climate. The recent transition of mayoral administrations is a critical policy window in which policy entrepreneurs like Chancellor David C. Banks can facilitate the coupling of the problem, policy solutions and politics streams to push for the implementation of WBL in the public high schools.

Recognizing the challenge of amending the state's graduation requirements, the Mayor of New York City should employ an incrementalistic strategy to pioneer a large WBL initiative to establish new precedents for the district and state. Apart from the logistical concerns related to an extensive WBL program, it has not yet been widely implemented partially due to the stigma attached to the student populations that are targeted for career readiness programs like WBL.

Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram's explanations of policy rationales and the social construction of target populations are helpful to strategize ways to place and keep WBL on the education policy agenda. Extending WBL to all juniors and seniors in New York City's public high schools would widen the target population and help to change the negative associations with career readiness programs. Appealing to instrumental values such as economic vitality as opposed to justice-oriented rationales like equity will help to justify this policy change.

II.   Statement of the Problem

"There are great political stakes in problem definition. Some are helped and others are

hurt…" (Kingdon, 1984, p. 115).

A). *Nonintegrated definitions of College and Career Readiness reinforce a dichotomy of academic and non-academic pathways for students.*

Although the New York City Department of Education's (NYC DOE) goal is to "ensure all students graduate from high school ready for college and the 21st-century workforce," definitions of college and career readiness are largely skewed towards college readiness and exclude many students who will not go to college due to circumstances or personal choice (College and career planning, n.d). In New York City's public schools, college and career readiness has been tied to arbitrary cutoff scores on the English Language Arts and math Regents exams to signal success in first year college courses. In 2013 Commissioner of Education Dr. John B. King Jr. listed the

domains of college and career readiness as core academic knowledge and skills, key behaviors and attitudes, and career-specific knowledge and skills (New York State Education Department). The latter component has been understated and underenforced in New York City's K-12 public schools which may leave students less prepared for 21st-century labor demands regardless of their postsecondary credentials. The CTE Technical Assistance Center (TAC) of New York has advocated for a clearer definition of career readiness that is "commonly understood, endorsed, and applied as well as conveyed with college readiness" (2012, p. 9). Career readiness is less integrated in the definition of "college and career readiness" which negatively affects the implementation of its standards across the board.

New York City is the largest school district in the United States serving approximately 1 million students including students in public charter schools. As such, New York State and New York City are equipped with existing infrastructures and resources that can be used to improve how students experience and prepare for careers in high school. New York State's learning standards for Career Development and Occupational Studies (CDOS) systematically outline key ideas, performance indicators and sample tasks for students at the elementary, intermediate and commencement (high school) grade levels to demonstrate readiness for entry-level employment. The standards are 1) Career Development, 2) Integrated Learning, 3a) Universal Foundation Skills, and/or 3b) Career Majors. On the New York State Education Department's (NYSED) website, these standards are listed separately from the academic learning standards in core subjects like English Language Arts, mathematics, science, and economics and government.

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in a graduation pathway bearing the same name as the learning standards for CDOS to boost high school graduation rates for students. In the spring of 2015, the NYSED removed the second social studies Regents exam requirement "to

afford students greater choice in their fifth assessment requirement" (NYC DOE Office of Academic Policy and Systems, 2021, p. 25). In the following spring, the New York State Board of Regents amended sections 100.5 and 100.6 of the Regulations of the Commissioner of Education to establish the "4+1 Pathway" to graduation (Infante-Green, 2016, p. 1). The "multiple pathways recognize the importance of engaging students in rigorous and relevant academic programs" that include Arts, World Languages, Humanities, STEM, Career and Technical Education, and CDOS (NYSED, n.d.). Under the "4+CDOS" categorization, CDOS is perceived as a "rigorous and relevant *academic* [emphasis added]" program. Before this change, CDOS was an option available only to students with disabilities as an endorsement to their high school diploma or as a standalone credential if they were unable to earn a diploma (Infante-Green, 2016, pp. 1-2).

CDOS gained legitimacy as an academic program when it became a pathway for graduation for all students. However, CDOS still carries the stigma of being for students who are unable to pass a fifth Regents exam, have disabilities, or are not college bound, and hence, it is considered a less rigorous option. Here to Here, a Bronx-based non-profit organization that connects high school students with employers and community-based organizations, has recommended the rebranding of CDOS "as a preparatory credential for all students" (2019, p. 11). If CDOS is brought to the mainstream and leveraged to expand work-based learning (WBL) for all students as opposed to being available to small, specialized populations, public education officials can begin to appeal to national interests like employment and erase the perception that career readiness is the non-academic route for underprepared students.

B). *High school students do not see the connection between school and work.*

The NYSED defines WBL as "authentic learning experiences that allow students to explore their career goals, abilities and interests while applying their academic and technical knowledge and skills in a real-world context" (WBL manual, 2021, p. 2). It is also "planned and supervised by instructional staff in collaboration with business, industry, or community partners." WBL or "work-linked learning" as Harvard Graduate School of Education's report, *Pathways to Prosperity* (2011), calls it, is an opportunity for students to obtain both hard and soft skills that will enable them to gain meaningful employment regardless of the postsecondary pathway they take. *Pathways to Prosperity* identified "growing evidence of a 'skills gap' in which many young adults lack the skills that pay a middle-class wage" (Symonds et al., p. 1). Previously in 20th century America, a high school diploma and on-the-job training was a "passport to the American Dream" (p. 2). In 21st century America, postsecondary credentials are increasingly essential for young adults to succeed and earn more throughout their careers (Carnevale et al., 2021, p. 16).

My argument for WBL is not intended to foment division between non-college bound and college bound students. All high school students can benefit from WBL. Social perceptions have labeled WBL as an option available only for non-college bound students seeking immediate employment, but the reality is that even college bound students need work experience to enhance their college applications and to clarify their career goals, among other reasons. As mentioned before, college readiness is associated with possessing the academic knowledge and skills to be successful in first year college courses. In 2011, the *Pathways to Prosperity* report suggested that the "college-for-all rhetoric… needs to be significantly broadened to become a 'post highschool credential for all" considering "only about 4 in 10 Americans have obtained either an associate's or bachelor's degree by their mid-twenties" (p. 6). A decade later, the Center on Education and

the Workforce highlighted that the college-for-all approach is not the 'be-all and end-all' since "only 52 percent of high school sophomores attain a postsecondary credential within 10 years" (Carnevale et al., 2021, p. 16). In other words, being college ready does not guarantee college retention and graduation. If emphasis on college readiness alone is not sufficient for students to obtain the postsecondary credentials that they need to do well in today's labor market, education policymakers should shift their attention. The ideal situation would be for all high school graduates to be ready for entry-level careers no matter the postsecondary route they pursue.

III.   Policy Recommendations

"Policy designs that serve democracy, then, need to have logical connections to important public problems; represent interests of all impinged-on groups; and enlighten, educate, and empower citizens" (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p. 345).

A). *The New York State Education Department and New York City Department of Education must clearly articulate a comprehensive definition of College and Career Readiness.*

As they currently exist, definitions of college and career readiness vary across the federal, state, and local levels. These definitions read more like college *or* career readiness. They focus heavily on academic preparedness for college-level schoolwork and demarcate separate avenues for students that are not considered college bound. To deliver an education that will ensure all students will be equipped for their postsecondary education plans and prepared to enter the 21st century labor force, the NYSED and NYC DOE must have both a balanced and unified definition of college and career readiness. Once this definition is clearly articulated, schools can begin to prioritize students' "exposure of career pathways based on labor market realities and opportunities to exposure to these realities" (CTE TAC, 2012, p. 8). The CTE TAC of New York proposed the following definition of college *and* career readiness:

To be college and career ready, all students in NY should have preparation in the three

major skill areas of core academic skills, employability skills, and technical skills, which

will allow them to transition seamlessly into a career and/or a postsecondary

credentialing program (e.g., industry training, apprenticeship, licensure, community or

four-year college). In order to make this happen, students should: develop a college and

career plan with academic core requirements and course choices appropriate to the plans,

explore and understand the academic and technical skill requirements for one of the 16

career clusters, possess the specific academic skills appropriate for and foundational to

the career cluster to be able to apply academic skills in situations aligned to an

increasingly sophisticated workplace and society (p. 4).

One aspect of this definition that could solidify its career readiness component is requiring

mastery in a career cluster. Because CDOS's standard 3b) Career Majors, is optional, there is no

impetus to put it in place. The learning standards lists criteria and sample activities for 6 career

majors or clusters: health services, engineering/technologies, business/information systems,

human and public services, natural and agricultural sciences, and arts/humanities (NYSED, n.d.).

The NYSED and NYC DOE can use CTE TAC's proposed definition as a model and the

learning standards for CDOS to create a more integrated definition of college and career

readiness that works for all students.

B). *Acknowledge Career Development and Occupational Studies (CDOS) and destigmatize*

work-based learning (WBL) through a public media campaign.

　　To change the public perception that career development programs are non-academic, New

York City should begin marketing CDOS and WBL opportunities as academic programs just as

the core subjects of English, math, science, and social studies are. When CDOS became an

eligible pathway for high school graduation in lieu of a Regents exam through the "4+1 Pathway" option, it was recognized as a relevant academic program. Only when career readiness is afforded the same primacy as academics will educational priorities shift. A public media campaign would provide a much-needed platform for CDOS and WBL to be rebranded as academic frameworks and programs that are beneficial for all students. The argument for a definition that works "for all" students is not one for the sake of equity. As Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram cynically, yet realistically stated,

> Public education has been justified in terms of equal opportunities - a rationale that currently does not carry the same status as instrumental ones. The values of American society simply seem to favor instrumental goals over justice-oriented goals (1993, p. 340).

While media attention and policy change are different matters, the media is a "carrier of social constructions" and can be used to reinforce or cast doubts on "prevailing rationales" for policies and target populations (p. 343). The ubiquity of media creates the opportunity for visibility that would be necessary to change and promote the message that WBL is in the interests of all high school students, and not only minoritized populations.

To summarize the role of the media in destigmatizing WBL and generating support for career education: (1) instrumental rationales "associated with important national purposes" (p. 340) should be applied instead of justice-oriented rationales associated with marginalized groups to justify education policy changes, and (2) the target populations should be widened to near-universal levels (all high school juniors and seniors) to change negative social constructions around students who engage in WBL experiences.

C). Adopt compulsory Work-Based Learning (WBL) to ensure all high school juniors and seniors have exposure to real-world work experience.

An optimal way to ensure every high school student has participated in a WBL opportunity before they complete 12th grade is by making it a requirement for graduation as opposed to an option. In July 2019, the Board of Regents and then-Chancellor, now Commissioner of Education and President, Betty A. Rosa, announced the creation of a Blue Ribbon Commission to review the state's graduation requirements (NYSED, Fact sheet, 2021). Currently, there is traction from parents, students, and educators alike to remove the stringent Regents exams requirements and replace them with other forms of assessments to give students greater flexibility and creative freedom to showcase what they have learned. Now that the state graduation requirements are currently under review and there is a movement away from high stakes standardized testing towards performance and project-based learning, there is a window of opportunity for WBL to meet that need. New York State already has the learning standards for CDOS in place to maintain and ensure academic rigor in career education curricula. It also has a manual that thoroughly outlines logistical expectations for the structure of WBL programs.

Besides CTE and vocational schools, New York City has niche examples of programs that offer WBL to specialized groups of students which may actually reinforce the idea that career readiness is for negatively stigmatized groups of students. The Learning to Work initiative "offers paid internships, student support services, in-depth job readiness and career exploration activities" for students in transfer schools and Young Adult Borough Centers (YABC) (Transfer high schools, n.d.). Learning to Work began under Mayor Bloomberg's administration to help reengage at-risk students and address the high school drop-out crisis. There are 56 transfer schools across New York City, including 7 charter schools (Fruchter & Mokhtar-Ross, n.d.), and

23 schools offering YABC (Transfer high schools, n.d.). Funding for this initiative is constantly under threat, as was evidenced by the COVID-19 pandemic. Due to an influx of federal dollars, the NYC DOE's *Updates on American Rescue Plan* pronounced the temporary restoration of $30 million to the Learning to Work program. In the updates, it categorized Learning to Work as an "enrichment" program. By definition, enrichment programs are deemed as superfluous and non-essential. If the initiative is recategorized and repackaged as an academic program that promotes employment and broader economic interests, it can enlist and maintain wider support for funding.

Another example of a small program that supports WBL is Transition and College Access Centers (TCACs) for students with Individualized Education Programs (IEPs). TCACs have an office in each of the 5 boroughs. They are "student-centered resource hubs that offer trainings, workshops, and opportunities that provide the tools needed to plan for adult life" and successfully transition from high school to life after high school (NYC DOE, Family guide to transition planning, n.d., p. 24). TCAC only offers resources to students with disabilities, but the transition from youth dependence to adult independence is taking longer for all students (Carnevale et al., 2021, p. 8).

For every high school junior and senior to have access to internships, apprenticeships, or other forms of WBL, the school district must have robust partnerships with employers. City agencies may be one avenue that can offer slots for students to establish connections between school and work. City agencies span various fields including education, environment, government, health, human services, housing, infrastructure, law, finance, public safety, transportation, and more. There must be a mutually beneficial agreement negotiated between the NYC DOE and the unions that represent the employees in these city agencies. Similar to the

structure of the CollegeNow program, schools could partner with the City University of New York (CUNY) to offer academic credit to students participating in WBL at their sites. Community-based organizations could facilitate WBL opportunities to students via after school programming and the Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP), which recently received $13 million to fund 5,000 more slots for college students at CUNY (schools.nyc.gov, 2021). High school students will be able to complete WBL during student advisory and mentoring courses, expanded learning time, summers or even during the longer school days Mayor Adams has proposed. Ideally, internships would be paid, but the WBL manual also has examples of programs that offer unpaid internships for academic credit. Both Mayor Adams and Chancellor Banks have alluded to asking corporate partners to hire paid high school student interns.

According to the WBL manual, internship placements are agreements between school districts and local business partners (2021, p. 21). As a result, the NYC DOE would facilitate the relationship between schools and employers. This would require an office and staff designated with the task of brokering formal partnerships between high schools across New York City's 32 districts and external partners. This responsibility goes beyond securing partnerships. The NYC DOE should create an independent oversight committee that would be responsible for vetting potential partners and ensuring their missions are aligned with equitable practices to prevent the funneling of students into stratified pathways of WBL. The selection of partners should keep pace with the labor market's changing landscape to cultivate the soft and hard skills that are in high demand. At the macro-level, the NYC DOE is the intermediary between schools and employers. At the micro-level, the Work-Based Learning Coordinator, a teacher with the WBL extension #8981 and/or #8982, is the intermediary between students and employers. The WBL manual states that the coordinator is allowed to supervise between 12-25 students at a time (p.

23). To carry out extensive WBL programs, more teachers must be certified with the proper WBL extension.

IV.   Political Climate

"Politicians cast about for ways to make their mark" (Kingdon, 1984, p. 120).

In his acceptance speech, then Mayor-elect Adams envisioned his incoming administration as one that is committed to supporting children from "cradle to career" and "birth to profession" rather than just grades K-12. He wants to "build bridges," not walls, by partnering with corporations in the city to provide paid internships for students in underserved communities (CBS New York, 2021). Adams has publicly shared his personal experience growing up as a student with a learning disability in New York City's public schools. As such, he is a staunch proponent of CTE and other WBL opportunities and has been vocal about making this a priority in his administration. Before assuming his position, Chancellor Banks wrote in an op-ed:

> Corporate and government partners must be leveraged to broaden student exposure opportunities. Our students will be what they see; it is much easier to imagine becoming an investment banker if you have actually met one. With additional resources, we can create model experiences that activate the power of possibility… These are the kinds of opportunities that inspire students by demystifying access to the industries that will shape their future (New York Daily News, 2021).

Both Adams and Banks have made a call to action for "the philanthropic community, CEOs of major companies, to lean in on the traditional public school system" (Russo, 2021) and collaborate to create a "real workforce development plan that is going to be in alignment with the skills we are teaching our children" (Algar, 2021).

In March 2022, Chancellor Banks highlighted four pillars that would serve as the foundation for his vision to improve outcomes for students in New York City's public schools, ensure they are "equipped to be a positive force for change," and graduate "with a pathway to a rewarding career, long-term economic security" (schools.nyc.gov, 2022). The first pillar he discussed was reimagining the student experience by focusing on "career-connected learning," financial education and civic engagement. Through conversations with students during school visits, Chancellor Banks noted their disengagement with school as they saw "no connection to what it could do for [their lives]" (CBS New York, 2022). At that point, students were "just going through the routine of going to school" and doing their work out of compliance. He announced the Career Pathways Initiative in partnership "with educators, unions, state government leaders, community and business leaders… to ensure that all students graduate with a strong plan and head start on a pathway to the middle class" through pilot proposals such as early college credit, STEAM Centers and career-focused classrooms (schools.nyc.gov, 2022).

As the President and CEO of The Eagle Academy Foundation, Inc., Banks has established connections with mentors in the corporate world and has pooled money from the private sector to support his network of Eagle Academy schools. As the Chancellor, Banks will be the main policy entrepreneur leading this effort between corporate partners and the NYC DOE. According to Kingdon, policy entrepreneurs are in the business of attaching solutions to problems and seeking political support for policies. They are "advocates who are willing to invest their resources – time, reputation, money – to promote a position in return for anticipated future gain in the form of material, purposive, or solidary benefits" (1984, p. 188). Banks' network of actual entrepreneurs has the expertise and connections to help couple the problem, policy, and politics streams to get these policy proposals on the decision agenda, especially at the beginning of

Adams' administration when the "window provided by the honeymoon" is open and stakeholders are more receptive to policy ideas (p. 178).

V.   Budget

In the summer of 2021, Mayor Bill de Blasio and Chancellor Meisha Porter announced a breakdown of the Academic Recovery Plan for fiscal year 2022. One of the focus areas for the funds is preparing students "whether heading to college or a career," which again highlights the dichotomous language surrounding college and career readiness. $10 million are being allocated to afterschool, college counseling for every junior and senior, financial aid guidance, remote Advanced Placement courses, restoration of CollegeNow for college-credit courses, Immigrant Ambassador Programs, Student Success Centers, and expanding the Postsecondary Readiness for ELLs Program (schools.nyc.gov, 2021). The items on this list mostly prepare students to be college ready, not college *and* career ready.

I propose that a portion of this $10 million be redirected to redefining college and career readiness, creating a public media campaign to widely acknowledge CDOS and destigmatize WBL, and providing WBL opportunities for high school juniors and seniors. $10 million is a mere drop in the $635 million Academic Recovery Plan, and that money has already been designated for college and career readiness. It would be more feasible to redirect this pot of money instead of carving out new allocations from the budget. As Kingdon explained, budgets can serve as either constraints or promoters to policy proposals and items on the agenda. When there are "more slack resources" available for use as there are with the Academic Recovery Plan, there are greater opportunities for innovation (1984, p. 114).

VI.   Arguments Against Policy Solutions

A). *Career development programs are not rigorous enough and only track students into 'dead-end' jobs.*

Because of the pronounced emphasis on academic benchmarks in core subjects and the inadequate definitions of college and career readiness, most people with a stake in K-12 education may be unaware of New York's extensive Career Development and Occupational Studies (CDOS) learning standards. Guidance counselors in high schools may be more familiar with the standards to guide students to meet the requirements for the "4+CDOS" option to graduate. In the recommended public media campaign, it must be continuously accentuated that CDOS is endorsed by the NYSED as the learning standards for career readiness across grades K-12. The public must be informed and reminded that career development programs aligned with the state's standards are both legitimate and rigorous.

On the other hand, concerns about the "4+CDOS" option showing early signs of tracking students must be considered. Due to the troubling history of CTE, vocation and trade schools, families may be inclined to be distrusting towards career readiness programs and WBL. In fact, parents may be one of the main groups to oppose WBL programs for their children. In the past, students of color from low-income backgrounds "were often tracked into vocational programs that steered them away from college and into jobs that offered few or no opportunities for advancement" (Lewy, 2021). In an article published by *Chalkbeat*, Monica Disare highlighted The Education Trust-New York's findings that black students were "disproportionately more likely to use an evaluation meant to test entry-level work skills on their way to graduation" and "low-income students [were] twice as likely to use new graduation options to earn a less challenging diploma than their more affluent peers" (2018).

Here it may be useful to explain a couple of things: (1) The "4+1 Pathway" awards high school students the same Regents diploma as any other student who passed the required 5 Regents exams. (2) There are two ways in which students can obtain the CDOS endorsement to their diploma or graduate through the "4+CDOS" pathway. Here to Here and I advocate for the first way which entails the completion of a specified number of hours of WBL, an annual career plan, an employability profile, and an exit summary upon graduation (NYSED, 2018, p. 3). The second way, which Disare references in her article, is meeting the requirements of an exam approved by the NYSED that is based on "nationally recognized work readiness credentials" in lieu of completing the hours of WBL experiences and the other career planning activities outlined in the first option (p. 5). These exams are also associated with a fee (p. 20). Taking an alternate assessment to test work readiness eludes the purpose of WBL and does students a disservice by depriving them of the opportunity to explore careers firsthand. The reason why many underprivileged students choose the second way is because "the coursework necessary to offer these new pathways is not always present in the city's most struggling schools" (Disare, 2018). Making WBL a requirement should not be a hurdle for students' graduation. Schools need the resources to ensure students have equitable access to the options they purportedly have a right to.

The belief that WBL programs lead to 'dead-end' jobs need to be reexamined. One report showed that on average, students who pursue CTE, a form of WBL, earn $250-300,000 more over their careers than non-CTE students (Advance CTE 2016 Report, as cited in Here to Here, 2019, p. 9). In *The Overlooked Value of Certificates and Associate's Degrees*, Georgetown University's Center on Education and the Workforce presents data that show that associate

degrees and certificate programs more typically associated with specific occupations can

potentially lead to well-paying careers:

> In some cases, depending on the field of study, workers with certificates and associate's
>
> degrees earn more than those with bachelor's degrees. Associate's degree holders who
>
> studied engineering have median earnings between $50,001 and $60,000 per year,
>
> compared to workers with a bachelor's degree in education, who have median earnings
>
> between $30,001 and $40,000 per year. Workers with certificates in construction trades
>
> and other blue-collar fields have median earnings that are as high as those of bachelor's
>
> degree recipients in liberal arts and humanities (between $40,001 and $50,000)
>
> (Carnevale et al., 2020, p. 24).

Like definitions, language matters. It is worth noting that even lower paying jobs promote

cognitive skills that can be applied to higher paying jobs and occupations. Instead of adopting

fatalistic language like 'dead-end' jobs, emphasis should be shifted to developing and applying

young people's transferrable skills to help them grow in their careers.

B). *Establishing seamless partnerships between the New York City Department of Education and employers is not logistically possible.*

As school districts are typically the intermediaries between schools and employers for WBL

opportunities, the NYC DOE would facilitate the needed partnerships to ensure there are

sufficient slots for high school students. In 2019-2020 alone, there were 71,237 students enrolled

in 11th grade, and 68,701 students in 12th grade in New York City's public high schools, but that

number has been steadily decreasing over the last five years (NYSED, NYC public school

enrollment 2019-20). There is no doubt it would be challenging to execute a network of this

magnitude, but New York City is capable of accomplishing it over several years. One of Mayor

de Blasio's signature initiatives has been NYC's Community Schools. Community schools is "an equity strategy to organize resources and share leadership so that academics, health, youth development, and family engagement are integrated into the fabric of schools" (NYC Community Schools, n.d.). Partnerships with lead community-based organizations (CBOs) and other city agencies spearheaded by the Office of Community Schools have made this possible. When the program began in the fall of 2014, 45 schools participated, mainly to counter chronic absenteeism and to improve graduation rates (NYC DOE, NYC community schools, n.d.). In the fall of 2021, there were 317 community schools in every school district in the city with more than 70 lead CBOs supporting over 150,000 students (NYC DOE Info Hub, n.d.). In fiscal year 2022, funding will be increased to expand community schools to a total of 406 schools which are funded by city, state, and federal dollars (schools.nyc.gov, 2021). Although a WBL program for juniors and seniors, and Community Schools are different initiatives, they share an extensive network of partnerships with CBOs serving thousands of students in common.

B). *Securing 'buy-in' and support from employers for a work-based learning initiative is not feasible.*

Besides CBOs, there has been mention of asking corporate partners to become involved in this endeavor. Because private corporations cannot be coerced to participate, they must be convinced. As the *Pathways to Prosperity* report elaborated, there are several examples of countries in Northern and Central Europe where employers are heavily involved in providing WBL and apprenticeship programs for high school students (2011, pp. 15-19). It would be ingenuous to believe employers are doing this work for altruistic purposes, nor would education policymakers expect them to. What these programs have in common is the notion that employers have a stake in offering young people these opportunities and that they too stand to benefit from

the relationship. The WBL manual delineates some of the benefits for employers' participation in WBL (2021, p. 3):

- Encourages involvement in the [career] curriculum development process

- Establishes a connection between industry professionals and education providers

- Develops good relationships between worksite mentors and students

- Provides potential skilled and motivated employees

- Offers an opportunity to provide community service

VII.   Approval and Implementation Process

A). *Communicating consistent messaging about College and Career Readiness.*

In the digital era, information is accessed online. As the leading authority on public school education in the state, the NYSED should create and publish a comprehensive definition of college and career readiness informed by proponents of WBL and the learning standards for CDOS. Each school district in New York will centrally adopt this definition on their web pages, including New York City. The NYSED should streamline their website and make the CDOS learning standards as easily accessible and visible as the state's academic learning standards. These changes must be communicated to begin to make an impact on educational priorities.

B). *Building a local public media campaign promoting work-based learning.*

Since a new administration took office in January 2022, the Mayor's office will continue to undergo a rebranding campaign that aligns with its politics. It is precisely in this moment that Mayor Adams should leverage social media and other marketing tools to set his education agenda and show how he plans to be the "cradle to career" and "birth to profession" mayor for all New Yorkers. As a storytelling enthusiast his rebranding campaign could incorporate the voices of young people whose lives were positively impacted by WBL while they were in

school. He has demonstrated a real interest in pushing postsecondary readiness and WBL initiatives by naming Jade Grieve as the Chief of Student Pathways. Grieve has extensive experience in the United States and in Australia in the field of K-12 and postsecondary education, and its connection with economic opportunity in the world of work. Although Chancellor Banks shared his vision for reimagining students' experiences at the beginning of March 2022, there is little information on the NYC DOE's website about how Grieve plans to execute this work. More information is forthcoming by the fall of 2022.

Grieve's office could initiate a media campaign by building upon the previous administration's task forces on youth employment and increasing its visibility and exposure to the public. The Mayor's Office of Youth Employment (MOYE) is dedicated to increasing and enhancing opportunities for youth "to gain work experiences, add skills, and explore potential career interests to compete in the 21st century job market" (NYC MOYE, n.d.). The office began as the Center for Youth Employment (CYE) in 2015 and became MOYE in 2021 by a mayoral executive order. MOYE operates several small programs for K-12 and postsecondary education students, including CareerCLUE (Community Learning, Understanding, and Experience), a program that resembles my proposal for a WBL pilot program in the NYC DOE schools, but the problem is that they are not widely known. Their Twitter page (handle @NYC_MOYE) only has 39 followers after having joined a year ago (NYC's Mayor's Office of Youth Employment). (I am one of the followers.) An organization like MOYE could be doing great work for the community, but its impact will not be recognized and replicated if the public is not aware of it. This type of media campaign coincides with Chancellor Banks' pillar of scaling, sustaining, and restoring "what works" in schools (CBS News New York, 2022). To begin the process of doing more of what works these best practices need to be widely shared and publicized first.

C). *Changing high school graduation requirements at the state level and/or starting a work-based learning initiative at the city-level.*

To change the high school graduation requirements, regional meetings need to be held across the state to gather feedback from stakeholders. A Blue Ribbon Commission will give final recommendations to the Board of Regents, and amendments to the Regulations of the Commissioner of Education will be proposed. As many bureaucratic processes, this takes a long time. The current review of graduation measures was announced in July 2019. As things stand now with the delays incurred by the COVID-19 pandemic, the Board of Regents is scheduled to discuss the results of the Blue Ribbon Commission in the spring or summer of 2024 (NYSED, *Fact sheet*, n.d.). If any changes are decided, they will probably be phased in over several years. This means that students who were incoming freshmen in high school in the fall of 2019 will have graduated by the time the Board of Regents has come to a decision.

As influential as the New York City school district is for its size, changing high school graduation requirements can only occur at the state level. Since that process would be long and implementation would be logistically challenging, I propose that New York City take advantage of the current political climate and employ an incrementalistic strategy to make WBL a priority in its education policy agendas and proposals. As the largest school district in the state and country, New York City can leverage its powerful voice, establish new principles, and set new precedents as it has with its universal pre-K initiative. Mayor Adams' administration will have the opportunity to focus the city's education budget on key initiatives like WBL that can have a real impact on youth and inspire other school districts to do the same.

VIII.   Obstacles to Approval and Implementation

A). *Parents do not trust an increased role of the private sector in the education of their children.*

Red flags may be raised when parents hear that the private sector will play a more active role in their children's education. Mayor Adams and Chancellor Banks must find ways to foster trust by eliciting the participation of parents and students in a collaborative effort with corporate entities to devise education policies that will serve them. Although students have a large stake in education policy, their voices are often excluded from the policy community. Policy experts do not know how much students can contribute to crafting education policies because they often do not ask them. Schneider and Ingram created a visual guide using quadrants to illustrate how certain populations are constructed (positively or negatively) and how much power (high or low) they have to dictate and promote policies (pp. 336-337). Using the language of their framework, children, or more specifically students, could be characterized as dependents. They are positively constructed but have low power. Policies directed towards this group tend to have "more paternalistic attributes" and as a result, students' knowledge and experiences are not mobilized, and policy decisions are made for them (p. 339). However, if sufficient backlash is anticipated from parents, students and even educators, the mayoral administration would be likelier to seek their input and participation which may ease parents' mistrust towards the private sector.

Trust between all policy stakeholders can be cultivated through dialogue. But, for dialogue to be possible, everyone's voice must be valued. Although Rhonda V. Magee's writings on identity safety relate to the pedagogy of race and contemplative practices in classroom settings, it can be a useful guide for education communities to create inclusive spaces that blur hierarchies of power and ensure that parents and students are "part of valued learning communities" (2016, p.

254). Magee lists the following characteristics as crucial to the formation of identity safety (p. 265):

   a. Diversity is an explicit value

   b. Relationships between and among co-learners are valued

   c. Learning is student-centered

   d. Caring is made visible

A common theme across these points is the validation of experience and opinion. In (a), differences in opinion are not frowned upon but accepted. In (b), hierarchies are not an impediment to dialogue. In (c), the students' interests are not only considered; they drive the content and methods of learning. In (d), people are seen first as people rather than the role they play or title they hold. When applying this framework to proposed WBL policies, Mayor Adams' administration could facilitate a platform for parents and students to participate in the co-creation of the initiative in partnership with the public and private entities leading the effort. Chancellor Banks has expressed his commitment to empower families to be true partners in the work by involving them in policy discussions and not only "as a photo op after the decision has been made" (CBS News New York, 2022).

   If the expertise is not in the room where the policy decisions happen, then more people should be invited into the space. Focus groups with students need to be created to brainstorm the types of WBL opportunities they would like to benefit from in their schools. When stakeholders are dialoguing, no single party or interest would monopolize the discussion and decisions. In a recent address, Chancellor Banks affirmed that "listening to our stakeholders is not just the best way, but the ONLY way we're going to have sustained improvement" in schools (schools.nyc.gov, 2022). Although this may not be an easy feat as everyone has different

opinions, integrating the voices of parents and students is vital to develop trust and increase their stake in the education policies that affect them.

B). *The scope is too large.*

Perhaps the main objection would be from those who would be securing the resources and implementing the WBL program on the ground. There is no doubt the scope of this program is large, but it is not too large that it is not worth trying. There was a time when people did not think universal pre-K was possible in a district as large as New York City, but it has been implemented and early childhood programs are expanding to include even more 3-K programs. The massiveness of this WBL initiative is its strength, not its weakness. New York City can pool its vast resources to experiment, modify, and innovate this promising policy proposal.

IX.   Conclusion

Education policies centering WBL practices should not only focus on high school as I have, but examine connections in K-12, K-16, or even K-20 education. Career readiness should not begin in 11th or 12th grade but be scaffolded in the lower grades as the learning standards for CDOS intend. Further research could explore the role of colleges in providing WBL opportunities to help college students see the connection between their fields of study and possible career paths.

The consideration of this WBL education policy is apt for this mayoral administration and the state's current review of graduation requirements. In recent days, Chancellor Banks has called the partnership between public schools and companies the administration's "North Star" to guide its education policies (Russo, 2021). Banks has identified the problem, "If it's just going to be school for the sake of going to school – that's not enough" (Algar, 2021). The political will for helping students make the connection between school and work is present. To pilot this sort

of initiative, however, the social construction of target populations, particularly high school students that participate in WBL, must be at the forefront when crafting the expansion of career readiness programs in schools.

Works Cited

Algar, S. (2021, December 10). New schools chancellor Banks wants to expose NYC kids to corporate world. *New York Post*. https://nypost.com/2021/12/10/does-david-banks -wants-to-expose-nyc-kids-to-corporate-world/

Anyon, J. (2005). *Radical possibilities: public policy, urban education, and a new social movement*. Routledge.

Bailey, T.R., Hughes, K.L., & Moore, D.T. (2003). *Working knowledge: work-based learning and education reform*. Taylor & Francis Group.

Banks, D.C. (2021, May 7). To help kids, do things differently: how New York should invest billions in new school spending. *New York Daily News*. https://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/ny-oped-to-help-kids-do-things-differently-20210507-gwxzavszbjhyjgwx5bumtrenny-story.html

Bennett, D. (2019). Meeting society's expectations of graduates: education for the public good. In *Higgs, J., Crisp, G., & Letts, W.J* (Eds.), *Education for employability (volume 1): the employability Agenda*, pp. 35-48. Brill Sense.

Career construction theory. (n.d.). IResearchNet. Retrieved March 21, 2022. http://psychology.iresearchnet.com/counseling-psychology/career-counseling/career -construction-theory/

Career development theories. (n.d.). IResearchNet. Retrieved March 15, 2022. http://career.iresearchnet.com/career-development/3/

Career education. (n.d.). IResearchNet. Retrieved March 1, 2022. https://career.iresearchnet.com/career-development/career-education/

Carnevale, A.P., Garcia, T.I, Ridley, N. & Quinn, M.C. (2020). *The overlooked value of certificates and associate's degrees: what students need to know before they go to college*. Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce. https://cew.georgetown.edu/cew-reports/subba/

Carnevale, A.P., Gulish, A. & Peltier Campbell, K. (2021). *If not now, when? The urgent need for an all-one-system approach to policy*. Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce. https://cew.georgetown.edu/cew-reports/allonesystem/

CBS New York. (2021, November 2). *Eric Adams victory speech* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h5YZOl9YCAg

CBS New York. (2022, March 2). *School's chancellor Banks shares his vision for DOE* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bQWXsAVyFxU

Chancellor Banks Outlines Vision for Transforming and Building Trust in NYC Public Schools. (2022, March 2). Schools.nyc.gov. Retrieved March 22, 2022, from https://www.schools.nyc.gov/docs/default-source/default-document-library/chancellor-david-c-banks-outlines-bold-vision

Cole, D. & Hallett, R. (2019). The language of employability. In *Higgs, J., Crisp, G., & Letts, W.J* (Eds.), *Education for employability (volume 1): the employability Agenda*, pp. 119-130. Brill Sense.

College and career planning. (n.d.) Schools.nyc.gov. Retrieved November 27, 2021, from https://www.schools.nyc.gov/learning/student-journey/college-and-career-planning

Congressional Research Service. (April 19, 1994). Summary: H.R. 2884 – 103rd Congress. https://www.congress.gov/bill/103rd-congress/house-bill/2884

CTE Technical Assistance Center of NY. (2012). *New York state high school graduates: what does it mean to be college and career ready?*. https://nyctecenter.org/images/files/Publications/College-and-Career-Ready-2012.pdf

Curry, J.R., & Milsom, A. (2013). *Career Counseling in P-12 Schools*, Springer Publishing Company.

Disare, M. (2018, March 14). New analysis suggests early signs of tracking in New York's expanded graduation options. *Chalkbeat*. https://ny.chalkbeat.org/2018/3/14/21104494/new-analysis-suggests-early-signs-of-tracking-in-new-york-s-expanded-graduation-options

Donald, W.E., Ashleigh, M.J., & Baruch Y. (2018). Students' perceptions of education and employability: facilitating career transition from higher education into the labor market. *Career Development International*, 23(5), 513-540, https://doi.org/10.1108/CDI-09-2017-0171

Douglas, F. (2004). Welfare to work: economic challenges to socially just career practice. In *Critical reflections on career education and guidance: promoting social justice within a global economy*, pp. 25-40. Taylor & Francis Group.

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1920). *Darkwater voices from within the veil*. Harcourt, Brace and Company. Accessible at https://www.gutenberg.org/files/15210/15210-h/15210-h.htm#Chapter_VIII

Fruchter, N. & Mokhtar-Ross, C. *Recuperation and innovation: New York City's transfer high schools*. (n.d.). Metropolitan Center for Research on Equity and the Transformation of Schools. https://steinhardt.nyu.edu/metrocenter/recuperation-and-innovation-new-york-citys-transfer-high

schools#:~:text=Currently%2C%20there%20are%2056%20transfer,serving%20more%2
0than%2013%2C000%20students

Green, J., Carbone, A. & Rayner, G. (2019). Employability pursuits beyond the formal

curriculum: extra and co-curricular activities. In *Higgs, J., Crisp, G., & Letts, W.J* (Eds.),

Education for employability (volume 1): the employability Agenda, pp. 166-176. Brill

Sense.

Hansen, J.E. (2017). What is social welfare history? *Social Welfare History Project*.

Retrieved from, http://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/recollections/social-welfare-history/

Here to Here. (2019). *The CDOS pathway: leveraging the CDOS to enhance and*

expand work-based learning opportunities for New York high school students.

https://www.heretohere.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/The-CDOS-Pathway

-Report_Fall-2019_Single.pdf

Horsford, S.D., Scott, J., & Anderson, G. (2019). *The politics of education policy in an era of*

inequality. Routledge.

Infante-Green, A. Career Development Occupational Studies graduation pathway option. (2016).

New York State Education Department.

http://www.nysed.gov/common/nysed/files/programs/curriculum-instruction/cdos-field

-memo-june-2016.pdf

Irving, B.A., & Malik, B. (Eds.). (2004). *Critical reflections on career education and guidance:*

promoting social justice within a global economy. Taylor & Francis Group.

Javian, A. (2004). *The (unrealized) promise of school-to-work education: assessing the impact of*

the School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994 on low-income and minority students.

Boston College Third World Law Journal, 24(2), 333-372.

https://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/twlj/vol24/iss2/3

Katz, M.B. (1997) *Improving poor people: The welfare state, the "underclass," and urban schools as history*. Princeton University Press.

King, J.B, Jr. (2013, October 29). *College & career readiness* [PowerPoint slides]. New York State Education Department. http://usny.nysed.gov/docs/reform-agenda-hearing -testimony-nyc.pdf

Kingdon, J.W. (1984). *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies*. Harper Collins.

Lewy, E.B. (2021). Learning from the past: the evolution of vocational education. MDRC.

https://www.mdrc.org/publication/learning-past-evolution-vocational-education

Magee, R.V. (2016). The Way of Colorinsight: Understanding Race and Law Effectively Through Mindfulness-Based Colorinsight Strategies. *The Georgetown Law Journal of Modern Critical Race Perspectives*, 8(251), 251-304.

Manzano Soto, N. (2004). Working with youth at risk of exclusion. In *Critical reflections on career education and guidance: promoting social justice within a global economy*, pp. 143-157. Taylor & Francis Group.

Mayor de Blasio and Chancellor Porter announce Academic Recovery Plan for pivotal school year ahead. (2021, July 9). Schools.nyc.gov. Retrieved November 27, 2021, from https://www.schools.nyc.gov/aboutus/news/announcements/contentdetails/2021/07/09/m ayor-de-blasio-and-chancellor-porter-announce-academic-recovery-plan-for-pivotal- school-year-ahead

Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Social welfare. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. Retrieved May 5,

    2021, from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/social%20welfare

New York City Community Schools. (n.d.). *Our community mission*. Retrieved May 9, 2021,

    from

    https://sites.google.com/mynycschool.org/newyorkcitycommunityschools/home/about?au

    thuser=0

New York City Department of Education. (n.d.). *Family guide to transition planning: preparing*

    students with IEPs for life after high school. https://www.schools.nyc.gov/docs/default-

    source/default-document-library/family-guide-to-transition-planning

New York City Department of Education. (n.d.). *NYC community schools*.

https://www.schools.nyc.gov/learning/programs/community-schools

New York City Department of Education. (n.d.). *Transfer high schools*.

    https://www.schools.nyc.gov/enrollment/other-ways-to-graduate/transfer-high-schools

New York City Department of Education Info Hub. (n.d.). *Community Schools*.

    https://infohub.nyced.org/working-with-the-doe/community-schools

New York State Education Department. (Updated 2021, November 11). *Fact sheet: review of*

    graduation measures in New York State.

    http://www.nysed.gov/common/nysed/files/programs/grad-measures/graduation

    -measures-fact-sheet.pdf

New York State Education Department. (n.d.). *Learning standards for career development and*

    occupational studies at three levels.

    http://www.nysed.gov/common/nysed/files/programs/career-technical

    -education/cdoslea.pdf

New York State Education Department. (n.d.). *Multiple pathways*.

http://www.nysed.gov/curriculum-instruction/multiple-pathways

New York State Education Department. (2018). *New York state (NYS) career*

development and occupational studies (CDOS) commencement credential questions

and answers. http://www.nysed.gov/common/nysed/files/programs/curriculum

-instruction/cdos-pathwayq-9-18.ose_.pdf

New York State Education Department. (Updated 2021). *New York state work-based*

learning manual. http://www.nysed.gov/common/nysed/files/programs/career-technical

-education/wbl-manual_0.pdf

New York State Education Department. (n.d.). *NYC public school enrollment 2019-20*.

https://data.nysed.gov/enrollment.php?year=2020&instid=7889678368

NYC DOE Office of Academic Policy and Systems. (2021). *High school academic*

policy guide. https://infohub.nyced.org/docs/default-source/default-document

-library/AcPolicy-HighSchoolAcademicPolicyGuide

NYC's Mayor's Office of Youth Employment. [NYC_MOYE]. (n.d.). Tweets [Twitter page].

Retrieved March 21, 2022, from https://twitter.com/nyc_moye?s=11

Pagliano, P. (2004). The career education curriculum and students with disabilities. In *Critical*

reflections on career education and guidance: promoting social justice within a global

economy, pp. 114-129. Taylor & Francis Group.

Raelin, J. (2008). *Work-based learning bridging knowledge and action in the workplace*. Jossey

-Bass.

Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. Oxford University Press.

Russo, M. (2021, December 10). *New NYC chancellor wants longer school days, Saturday and summer classes*. NBC New York. https://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/new-nyc -schools-chancellor-wants-longer-school-days-saturday-and-summer-classes/3445341/

Sadovnik, A., Cookson, P., Semel, S., & Coughlan, R. (2018). *Exploring Education: An Introduction to the Foundations of Education*. Routledge.

Schneider, A, & Ingram, H. (1993). Social construction of target populations: implications for politics and policy. American Political Science Association. Vol. 87, No. 2, 334-347. https://doi.org/10.2307/2939044

Symonds W.C., Schwartz, R.B. & Ferguson R. (2011). *Pathways to prosperity: meeting the challenge of preparing young Americans for the 21st century*. Harvard Graduate School of Education. https://www.gse.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/documents/Pathways_to_Prosperity_Feb2 011-1.pdf

The Mayor's Office for Youth Employment (MOYE). (n.d.). *History*. Retrieved March 21, 2022 from, https://www1.nyc.gov/site/youthemployment/about/about.page

The recovery budget: Mayor de Blasio releases the executive budget for fiscal year 2022. (2021, April 26). www1.nyc.gov. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from https://www1.nyc.gov/office-of-the-mayor/news/307-21/the-recovery-budget-mayor-de -blasio-releases-executive-budget-fiscal-year-2022

Updates on American Rescue Plan (ARP-ESSER) & on foundation aid funding [PowerPoint slides]. (n.d.). NYC Department of Education.

https://www.schools.nyc.gov/docs/default-source/default-document-library/preliminary

-update-on-arp-esser-and-on-foundation-aid-funding

Winters, D. (2009). *Circumscription and compromise*. The Careers Group – University of London.

https://careersintheory.files.wordpress.com/2009/10/theories_gottfredson.pdf